

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 00069 01 OF 02 120134Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 DHA-02
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 COME-00 EB-07
OMB-01 TRSE-00 MCT-01 /120 W
-----120211Z 011289 /70

R 112324Z JAN 77
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2003
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USLO PEKING
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0069

DEPT PASS ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, XA
SUBJ: 31ST UNGA: AFRICAN ISSUES AND PERFORMANCE BY THE
AFRICAN GROUP

REF: USUN 7000, OF 1975 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: WELL BEFORE IT BEGAN, THE 31ST UN GENERAL
ASSEMBLY (UNGA) WAS TOUTED AS AN "AFRICAN SESSION". AS
MATTERS DEVELOPED, AFRICA DID OCCUPY CENTER STAGE.
INDEED, THE 31ST UNGA OFTEN WAS DISCUSSING ESSENTIALLY
THE SAME AFRICAN ISSUES DAILY IN SEVERAL FORUMS: E.G.,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00069 01 OF 02 120134Z

WHAT WAS BEING DEBATED UNDER AN "ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES"
ITEM IN COMMITTEE III WAS BEING DEBATED UNDER HEADINGS
OF "FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS" IN COMMITTEE IV AND
"DECOLONIZATION" IN PLENARY. ABETTING THE AFRICANS
WERE THE REST OF THE "NON-ALIGNED", THE SOVIETS AND THEIR
ALLIES, AND THE CHINESE. ISSUES RELATED TO RHODESIA,
NAMIBIA, AND APARTHEID WERE PRESSED WITH CONSIDERABLE

SUCCESS. ANGOLA WAS ADMITTED TO THE UN. ATTENTION GIVEN AFRICAN ISSUES WAS HEIGHTENED IN LARGE PART BECAUSE OF OUR EFFORTS BEFOREHAND, WHICH WERE SUCCESSFUL IN DEFUSING COMPLETELY OR TO AN IMPORTANT DEGREE QUESTIONS SUCH AS KOREA, PUERTO RICO, AS WELL AS TO A CERTAIN DEGREE THE PANAMA CANAL, EXPULSION OR SUSPENSION OF ISRAEL AND "ZIONISM EQUALS RACISM". WHILE THE AFRICAN GROUP WAS RELATIVELY PATIENT AND NON-CONFRONTATIONAL TOWARD THE WEST, THE GROUP NOW IS AWAITING CONCRETE RESULTS FROM NEGOTIATIONS ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AS WELL AS MEASURES TO HASTEN THE ABOLITION OF APARTHEID. THE AFRICANS CLEARLY EXPECT MUCH FROM THE UNITED STATES IN THESE AREAS. END SUMMARY.

2. SOUTHERN AFRICA: ON THE ISSUES WHICH CONCERNED THEM MOST, THE AFRICANS ENJOYED TANGIBLE SUCCESS:

(A) ANGOLA: ANGOLA WAS ADMITTED TO UN MEMBERSHIP IN DECEMBER. (SEYCHELLES JOINED IN SEPTEMBER.)

(B) NAMIBIA: THE AFRICANS WERE ABLE TO EXCLUDE FROM DEBATE ALL SPOKESMEN OTHER THAN SWAPO AND TO ATTAIN UN OBSERVER STATUS FOR SWAPO. WHAT SWAPO COULD NOT GAIN ON THE BATTLEFIELD OR AT THE BALLOT BOX, IT WAS ABLE TO OBTAIN IN NEW YORK.

(C) APARTHEID: THE AFRICANS WERE ABLE TO MOVE THE APARTHEID DEBATE INTO PLENARY FOR THE FIRST TIME. SPOKESMEN OF SOUTH AFRICAN "LIBERATION MOVEMENTS" WERE THUS ENABLED TO SPEAK IN PLENARY. ALSO FOR THE FIRST TIME, USE OF "ARMED FORCE" WAS ENDORSED IN A UNGA RESOLUTION. THE AFRICANS ADVANCED THEIR CAMPAIGN TO DENY THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 00069 01 OF 02 120134Z

LEGITIMACY OF THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT AND TO BRING APARTHEID INTO THE DECOLONIZATION CONTEXT. SOWETO AND OTHER KILLINGS, LACK OF REAL PROGRESS ON NAMIBIA, DIFFICULTIES IN RHODESIA, AND THE IMPRESSION THAT VORSTER HAD NOT CHANGED HIS MIND ON APARTHEID (REINFORCED BY AN INTERVIEW WITH HIM PUBLISHED IN THE OCTOBER 19 NEW YORK TIMES) COMBINED TO ENCOURAGE HEAVY ATTACKS ON SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE UNGA.

(D) RHODESIA: THE AFRICANS PERCEIVED THEMSELVES AS PATIENT AND BUSINESSLIKE, "KEEPING UP THE PRESSURE" ON THE GROUND AND AT THE UN AS THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED.

3. OTHER "DECOLONIZATION" ISSUES: HERE, WE ALSO SAW LESS THAN USUAL ACrimONY, AGAIN DUE IN LARGE PART TO NON-UN RELATED DEVELOPMENTS.

(A) SAHARA: THE ALGERIANS, BLOODIED BY FAILURES AT PORT LOUIS AND COLOMBO OVER THE SAHARA, ACCEPTED A CONSENSUS AGREEMENT IN COMMITTEE IV FAVORABLE TO

MOROCCO/MAURITANIA.

(B) TIMOR: ALTHOUGH SOME AFRICAN RADICALS (E.G., BENIN) PERSISTED IN VIGOROUSLY DENOUNCING INDONESIA'S INCORPORATION OF EAST TIMOR, MOST AFRICANS APPEARED INCLINED IN SPIRIT IF NOT BY VOTE TO ACCEPT THIS INCORPORATION BY "NONALIGNED"INDONESIA AS A FAIT ACCOMPLI.

(C) FRENCH ISSUES: FRANCE WAS HIT RELATIVELY LIGHTLY ON DJIBOUTI, BUT HARD ON MAYOTTE.

4. AFRICAN LEADERSHIP AND COORDINATION: AFRICAN SUCCESSES WERE ACHIEVED DESPITE LACK OF GOOD LEADERSHIP AND GROUP COORDINATION. ALGERIA, STUNG ON SAHARA BEFOREHAND AND PREOCCUPIED WITH DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS, APPEARED TO OPT OUT OF A LEADERSHIP ROLE. SENEGAL'S PERM REP FALL WAS COMPARATIVELY MUTE. SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THEPOINT OF VIEW OF AFRICAN LEADERSHIP, TANZANIA'S PERM REP SALIM AND ZAMBIA'S PERM REP KAMANA WERE BOTH IN GENEVA DURING MUCH CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 00069 01 OF 02 120134Z

OF THE UNGA FOR THE RHODESIAN TALKS. MONTHLY AFRICAN GROUP CHAIRMEN CONTRIBUTED LITTLE; OAU OBSERVER OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 00069 02 OF 02 120156Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 DHA-02
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 COME-00 EB-07
OMB-01 TRSE-00 MCT-01 /120 W
-----120215Z 011436 /70

R 112324Z JAN 77
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2004
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USLO PEKING
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 0069

DEPT PASS ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

HEAD OUATTARA, EVEN LESS. MAURITIUS'S PERM REP RAMPHUL, SPEAKING ALSO ON BEHALF OF THE OAU PRESIDENCY, PERFORMED HIS ACCUSTOMED BUFFOONERY. HE EVEN ALIENATED HIS COLLEAGUES BY INSISTING ALONG WITH OCTOBER AFRICAN GROUP CHAIRMAN PERM REP KANTE OF MALI THAT A RECORDED VOTE BE TAKEN IN PLENARY ON THE TRANSKEI RESOLUTION. WHILE RAMPHUL AND KANTE SAW THIS AS A MOVE TO ISOLATE THE US, IT SERVED AT THE SAME TIME TO SHOW TO SOUTH AFRICA A LACK OF UN UNANIMITY AND TO OTHERS AN ABSENCE OF AFRICAN COORDINATION. NIGERIA'S PERM REP HARRIMAN, TOGETHER WITH UN COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA MACBRIDE, AND OTHERS, AUTHORED A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF UNPALATABLE RESOLUTIONS ON APARTHEID AND SOME CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00069 02 OF 02 120156Z

UNSAVORY ANTI-US ALLEGATIONS WHICH CLOUDED THE NAMIBIA DEBATE. ADDITIONALLY, HARRIMAN IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN BEHIND THE "ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES" RESOLUTIONS IN COMMITTEE III. BUT HE WAS HARDLY A GRUP LEADER. ANOTHER NIGERIAN, AMBASSADOR CLAR FROM NIGERIA'S MISSION IN GENEVA, PLAYED A PROMINENT LEADERSHIP ROLE AMONG AFRICANS IN COMMITTEE I DISARMAMENT DEBATES. IN GENERAL, HE TENDED TO BE HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE US AND USSR. IN SUMMARY, VARIOUS, CHANGING AFRICAN LEADERS, FLOOR MANAGERS, OR WORKING GROUPS, RATHER THAN SPECIFIC PERSONALITIES, ROSE TO THE OCCASION ON INDIVIDUAL CASES.

5. AFRICAN RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS:

(A) UNITED STATES: THE DELEGATIONS OF THE IVORY COAST, ZAIRE, AND UPPPER VOLTA SOUGHT CLOSE COORDINATION WITH US. BEFORE VIRTUALLY EACH AND EVERY MAJOR ISSUE AROSE, AND PRIOR TO ANY INTIATIVE THEY UNDERTOOK, THOSE MISSIONS WERE IN TOUCH WITH US. THEY OFTEN WERE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO COSPONSOR "FRIENDLY" DRAFT RESOLUTIONS. IN A BROAD FRAMEWORK, TIMELY ADVANCE LOBBYING WITH AFRICANS ON KOREA, THE PANAMA CANAL, PUERTO RICO, AND "ZIONISM/ RACISM" PROVED FRUITFUL THIS YEAR. WE COULD WELL EXPAND THIS LIST OF US-RELATED ISSUES TO INCLUDE GUAM.

(B) THE USSR: "COMRADELY" AFRICAN NATIONS WERE IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE SOVIETS. SUPPORT FOR THE COMMUNIST LINE AMONG EX-PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES WAS EVIDENT.

(C) SWEDEN: SWEDEN WAS VIGOROUS IN SUPPORT OF THE AFRICANS. IT OFTEN VOTED FOUR-SQUARE WITH TANZANIA.

(D) THE "NONALIGNED": COLOMBO'S DOCUMENTS SUPPLIED
LINES OF POLICY DIRECTION FOR THE AFRICANS.

(E) THE ARABS: THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF CONCERTED
AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION DURING THE UNGA. ON THE CONTRARY,
IN COMMITTEE V, WHEN THE NEW SCALE OF ASSESSMENT WAS
TAKEN UP, THERE WAS A SPLIT BETWEEN PROSPEROUS ARABS
AND POOR AFRICANS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 00069 02 OF 02 120156Z

5. AFRICAN PERCEPTION OF THE US: ISOLATED IN MUCH OF
THE VOTING, THE US NEVERTHELESS WAS PERCEIVED BY AFRICANS
AS HAVING PURSUED A POSITIVE ROLE ON THE RHODESIAN TALKS
AND AS REPRESENTING THE KEY TO THE FUTURE OF BOTH
NAMIBIA AND APARTHEID. THE WERE WILLING TO GIVE US
(AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION) A REASONABLE AMOUNT OF TIME
TO MOVE FORWARD ON THESE ISSUES. IN FACT, CONSIDERING
THE GENERAL AFRICAN PERCEPTION OF THE NEED TO KEEP OUR
FEET TO THE FIRE, MOST ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO REPEAL
OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT AND PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA, WE
MAY HAVE COME OUT AS WELL AS COULD BE EXPECTED. IT SHOULD
BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WERE FEW REAL EFFORTS ON
THE PART OF THE AFRICANS AT SIGNIFICANT COMPROMISES WITH THE
WEST IN DRAFTING EXERCISES. THUS, THE US WAS ADDRESSED
SPECIFICALLY IN UNCOMPLIMENTARY TERMS IN A NUMBER OF
RESOLUTIONS, AS WERE THE FRG, FRANCE, ISRAEL, AND THE UK.
IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SOVIETS CONTINUED OPPORTUNISTI-
CALLY TO DO THEIR BEST TO PORTRAY THE US AS AFRICA'S
ENEMY, OFTEN INITIALLY EMPLOYING A SURROGATE SUCH AS
BULGARIA, AND LATER LASHING OUT THEMSELVES. THE BRITISH
EXAMPLE OF HITTING BACK AT THE SOVIET FOR CRITICISM
BOTH OF BRITAIN AND OF NATO WAS EFFECTIVE, AND WE WOULD
RECOMMEND IT BE STEPPED UP, AS REQUIRED, BY OTHER NATO
MEMBERS. (SEE USUN 0014 (NOTAL) CONCERNING COOPERATION WITH
OUR WESTERN ALLIES IN COMMITTEE IV.)

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: THE AFRICANS
REALISTICALLY ADMIT THAT INTEMPERATE UNGA RESOLUTIONS
OPPOSED BY COUNTRIES VITAL FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION ARE
SO MANY BITS OF PAPER. AS ALREADY NOTED, THE AFRICANS
REGARD OUR ROLE AS ESSENTIAL TO THE SOLUTION OF SOUTHERN
AFRICAN PROBLEMS. THROUGH HIS MAJOR EFFORTS, GOVERNOR
SCRANTON GENERATED MUCH GOOD WILL FOR US WITH AFRICANS
HERE, AND THEY NOW HOLD OUT GREAT HOPES THAT PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE-DESIGNATE ANDREW YOUNG WILL CONTINUE TO
PRESS FORWARD ON AFRICAN ISSUES. IT IS INCUMBENT UPON
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 00069 02 OF 02 120156Z

US TO PROMOTE PROGRESS ON RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND APARTHEID.
IN THE MONTHS TO COME, WE CAN COUNT ON PRESSURES IN UN
FORUMS ON MATTERS SUCH AS NEW INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH
AFRICA AND THE QUESTION OF A CHAPTER VII DETERMINATION
IN RELATION TO A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO ON SOUTH AFRICA.
WE WILL NEED TO RELATE DECISIONS REGARDING THESE MATTERS
TO OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN THE REST
OF AFRICA. IN THIS CONNECTION, NIGERIA'S PERM REP
HARRIMAN HAS STRESSED THAT ALL COUNTRIES HAVE THEIR
INTERESTS AND THESE SHOULD BE RESPECTED; BUT THAT THE
AFRICANS CANNOT ACCEPT A WESTERN POSITION WHICH, IN
AFRICAN EYES, AMOUNTS TO DEFENSE OF A POLICY WHICH CAN
ONLY ENCOURAGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN ITS OBDURACY.
SCRANTON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLONIALISM, DEPENDENCIES, MEETING PROCEEDINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 11-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977USUNN00069
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770011-0158
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770161/aaaacbkb.tel
Line Count: 294
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 55052fdb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 USUN NEW YORK 7000
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3621351
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: 31ST UNGA: AFRICAN ISSUES AND PERFORMANCE BY THE AFRICAN GROUP
TAGS: PFOR, PORG, XA, SF, RH, UNGA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/55052fdb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009